Zhukov's Demotion Was CIA's Second Major Bloomer in One Month, See Page 4

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The Real Question Now: Is Man Himself Obsolete?

The biggest news of the week was neither the fall of Zhukov nor the Macmillan-Eisenhower meeting but the first indications that France and Sweden will soon be joining the atomic arms club. Jules Moch in a press conference at the United Nations said France would use its fissionable materials for atomic weapons if no disarmament agreement is signed; none is in prospect. A few days later came word from Sweden that its Minister of Defense warned that the Swedes must have atomic arms by 1965 not only for their guided missiles but for tactical use. There will soon be five atomic powers, instead of three, immensely complicating the task of agreement and control. Nuclear weapons, deadly as they are, will soon be as common as gunpowder.

The No. 1 Task of Our Time

The wider the distribution of atomic arms the greater the chances that mankind will blow itself to smithereens. The problem is no longer whether war is obsolete. The problem is whether man, with his irrationality, and his immemorial tendency to settle his fratricidal quarrels by mass murder, is not obsolete. A species given to such deadly games can hardly survive the invention of weapons so destructive. This is the situation which faces mankind but there is little sign that human leadership is facing up to it. On the other side of the current Great Divide (there is one in every generation), the Russians in the age of the Sputnik are as ludicrously obsessed with Turkey as the Czars were a hundred years ago in the age of the gunboat. On our side there are no signs of any but small minds at work. The notion that the future of humanity now depends on finding a way of teaching it to live together is the No. 1 task of our time. One looks for it in vain on any of the agendas.

With all the billions being spent on arms in a world still largely shoeless and illiterate, no one proposes to spend a few millions on a world study of why men fight. We know dangerously little of the explosive aggressions in man. Yet the only security today for any and all of us is to find a defense against this ultimate weapon within ourselves, the tendency to murder. The military are alarmed lest they be finally eliminated by the sheer "impossibility" of nuclear war. Their best minds hope, as U. S. Army Chief of Staff Maxwell D. Taylor disclosed in a speech here, that we can find a way to limit war, so that the Great Game can go on. His hopes are pinned on an anti-missile missile, which can shoot down the ICBM in mid-course, and thus provide an umbrella of safety under which war may be resumed on the more "humane" scale of the past. The danger has brought an intensified effort, not to save men, but to save war.

Fatal Contradictions

While the Army chief at least shows imagination, the political leaders respond conventionally. Inane is the word for the Macmillan-Eisenhower communique. In one breath it says that "the indefinite accumulation of nuclear weapons and the indiscriminate spreading of the capacity to produce them should be prevented" but in the very next paragraph it talks of how "international security now depends not merely on local defensive shields, but upon reinforcing them with the deterrent and retaliatory power of nuclear weapons." This means placing nuclear arms in all the hot spots of the world, increasing the danger that some accident, or Lilliputian dictator in a moment of megalomaniac aberration, may set off the final conflict. The Macmillan-Eisenhower panacea is "free world partnership" in the pooling of scientific resources—not to eliminate war but to make it more deadly. The hope is still for another technological break-through to a new means of destroying human beings en masse which will be so terrifying and overwhelming that we can dictate terms to Them. This is the fantasy of a savage on whom modern science confers ever bigger clubs.

We Still Believe in Magic

The primitive within us has never been more visible in the headlines. The President, the Head of the Tribe, after poohpoohing Sputnik, which the Bad People Over The Hill launched, suddenly sets off a whole series of rockets of our own, like fire-crackers for children. He makes a speech attacking "morbid pessimism" about "free enterprise" and the stock market which fell 5.6 billions on Monday, rose 8.3 billions on Wednesday. Even papers which take an astringent view of the President's scanty knowledge and constant golf applauded. Said the *Chicago Tribune,* "Coming as they did the day after President Eisenhower's reassuring speech . . . the barrage of rockets had the desired effect. Panic mongers were silenced, the people's spirits rose." The *New York Daily News,* which otherwise specializes in tough guy cynicism, said "President Eisenhower is the man who can clear up any unjustified worries if any man can" but at the same time hoped he would get himself a new ghost writer capable of speaking in "short, hard-punching plain English." So in ancient times people knew a mere human priest spoke behind the mask but believed at the same time it was the voice of the god. The very people who suspect Ike only has the haziest conception of what is going on, still have a superstitious faith in his magic. How can people this primitive be expected to respond rationally to the new menace?

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Capital Round-Up: Brownell's Exit, Too Much Tact on Science, If Batista Were A Syrian

Why Not Name the Rev. Martin Luther King to the Civil Rights Commission?

President Eisenhower can hardly appoint a non-integrated Civil Rights Commission, but so far there has been almost no discussion in the press of a Negro candidate. From a world point of view, the U. S. would win applause if the Rev. Martin Luther King were named; the Montgomery bus boycott and its application of Gandhi-ism to Negro liberation has made him a world figure. But the timid White House is more likely to pick a non-controversial Northern Negro. Congressman A. Clayton Powell suggested the Rev. Archibald Carey of Chicago and Judge Francis E. Rivers of New York as Negro members. The report that Adlai Stevenson was asked to accept a place on the Commission is taken seriously in Washington and some of his friends think he should take it if he can have the chairmanship. He is unlikely to be a candidate in 1960 anyway and can afford to forget party politics for an assignment in which his great gifts could be of historic service.

Summing Up Herbert Brownell

Brownell: The most disliked Attorney General by the press in this generation; he hadn't held a press conference for two and a half years when he quit; one reason he avoided press conferences is that his oily evasions always got him into trouble. Brownell's original strategy was to outdo McCarthy, and if there had not been a change of tide in public thinking he intended to make the Administration the chief witch hunter. His attack—in concert with J. Edgar Hoover and Senator Jenner—on Harry D. White, former President Truman and "20 years of treason" was as low as any blow ever struck by McCarthy and should be used against him if he hopes, as rumored, to run for Governor of New York. A sly, unscrupulous, slippery politician. His successor, William P. Rogers, is Nixon's man; a back-slapper and glad-hander, a Dewey protege, a friend of Eastland though pro-civil rights, and stood with Hoover inside the Department against recent talk of liberalizing loyalty-security procedures in the wake of the Supreme Court's Cole decision.

Too Much "Tact"

The report on basic research made to the President by the National Science Foundation suffers from the kind of tactfulness to be expected in an official document. It speaks of a shortage of scientists, but makes no mention of the loyalty-security hysteria which has driven such first rate minds as Robert Oppenheimer and Dr. Edward U. Condon out of government. The report stresses the importance of publishing the results of research to avoid duplication and waste, but it makes no mention of the Pentagon mania for overclassification of projects and documents. The report touches ever so gently on the need for higher faculty pay in universities and aid to undergraduates, but instead of calling for Federal subsidies for education it talks weakly of the need for stimulating more private funds for basic research by tax benefits. The report shows that of $2,810 millions spent by the Federal government on research and development in 1953-54, $2,500 millions went for military projects.

Economic Bulletin

Very Best Expert Opinion

For any of our readers who may happen to be in the stock market and in need of the very best advice, we call attention to the newly released annual poll by the F. W. Dodge Corporation of leading U. S. economists on the outlook for 1958.

Dr. George Cline Smith, director of the poll, summarized these expert opinions by saying most of the economists "forecast general increases in the major economic indicator series" but at the same time expressed "considerable concern. . . ."

Will industrial output — like Zhukov — go up or down? The experts on business seemed to be as divided as the experts on Russia. Of the 202 economists polled, 30 percent forecast a steady rise and 15 percent a steady decline; 34 percent thought there would be a slump in the first half of next year but a recovery in the second while 8 percent predicted the first half would hold steady but the second half show a drop. We hope investor readers will find this clarifying.

Freedom Below The Border

Argentina's painful struggle to establish a free society may break down on the shoals of the oil issue; the national Constituent Assembly meeting to reform the 1953 constitution collapsed when 11 Conservatives led by a former Ambassador to Washington staged a walk-out to block adoption of a Radical measure permanently nationalizing the country's power and oil resources; the walkout left the Assembly with three short of a quorum. . . . Guatemala is expected to slip back into an extreme right dictatorship under Ydigoras Fuentes, who was right hand man of the dictator, Ubico, overthrown in 1944 after 14 years of absolute rule. . . . Could there be a more striking contrast than the intense interest the State Department shows in who governs Syria and its indifference to the struggle for freedom in Cuba? . . .

The U.S.: Short of Scientists but Still Destroying Physicists on Suspicion

A prime example of how the government hounds an innocent physicist, preventing him from working either at home or abroad, is that of Weldon Bruce Dayton. The Court of Appeals here 2-to-1, speaking through Judge Prettyman, has just upheld Secretary Dulles' refusal to grant Dr. Dayton a passport to do cosmic ray research at the Tata Institute in India. The Court, with only a weak dissent from Judge Fahy, ruled that the Secretary had a right to act on the basis of evidence undisclosed to the physicist.

Dr. Dayton was caught in the backwash of the Rosenberg investigation. He has been through three grand jury sessions without ever being indicted. He is not accused by the Department of ever having been a Communist, nor is he accused of having done anything wrong. But on the basis of long past associations, and the fact that his wife ran away with a neighboring scientist who disappeared into Mexico at the time of the Rosenberg affair, Dr. Dayton has been driven out of employment in this country and refused a chance to work abroad.

The denial of a passport becomes in effect denial of the right to pursue work as a physicist. Whether the Department can destroy a man's career without giving him a chance to defend himself is the question, and this will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

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A Page of Gleanings from the Association of the U. S. Army Meeting in Washington

What Gen. Mickelsen Was Forbidden to Say About the Decline of the Bomber

On October 31, Lt. Gen. Stanley R. Mickelsen, chief of the Army's Air Defense Command, was slated to retire after 40 years of service. Perhaps in the belief that he could therefore risk it, the General executed an interesting maneuver to express the Army's point of view at his scheduled appearance October 28 before the annual meeting of the Association of the United States Army here in Washington.

He sent out advance text of a speech criticizing continued reliance on strategic bombing and massive retaliation, perhaps knowing that the Pentagon would force him to tame it down before delivery. It did, and Gen. Mickelsen from his headquarters in Colorado Springs obediently ordered the text "killed" but too late to keep newspapermen from picking it up.

He himself delivered an address from which the teeth had been drawn. The Associated Press in the *Washington Star* that afternoon gave the gist of the suppressed original, and a little of it crept into early editions of next day's *New York Times* only to be cut out in the Late City Edition. This is what the retiring General would have said:

The Blue-Pencilled Remarks

"1. Interceptor aircraft are obsolescent, usefulness of bomber aircraft will fade when ICBMs can be accurately delivered. Therefore, the presently threatened destruction by bombers from a distant land is diminishing in possibility as each day passes.

"2. It is no idle boast that the present Nike Ajax missile (an Army weapon) can reach and kill any bomber that flies today. And it is equally no boast that the Nike Hercules missile soon to enter the air defense sites, can kill even whole formations of planes should they foolishly present themselves in that way. The Hercules missile with its atomic warhead is more than an answer to the pictured mass attack.

"3. The Army points the way for America to shed herself of any stigma of the Douhet theory of mass destruction of civilian populations . . . the Douhet theory is tied closely to the single-weapon idea of war . . . most recently asserted by advocates of complete security through 'air power'."

Reversed Roles

Our diplomats and soldiers seem to have reversed roles. While Secretary Dulles's contribution to the Middle Eastern crisis was a threat of massive retaliation if Turkey were attacked, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, U. S. Army Chief of Staff, told the Association of the U. S. Army here last Monday (Oct. 28), "It seems clear to students of the problem that the factors in the Middle East are largely political and economic, with purely military considerations offering little to effect an ultimate, successful solution."

Our Fascist Mentor

These remarks touched the most sensitive points of national policy. It is not polite to mention Douhet, the Italian Fascist General whose views on victory by airpower through mass destruction has become the major premise of our military and diplomatic thinking.

But if modern guided missiles, automatically directed at supersonic speeds, have made the slow moving subsonic bomber and even the supersonic interceptor (dependent on human reflexes) obsolete, then the continued reliance on the Strategic Air Command is an expensive delusion.

It is a safe assumption in the arms race that what one side has, the other side has or soon will have. If the Army has anti-aircraft missiles of the kind General Mickelsen describes, the Russians probably have similar ones ready or in production.

Indeed as early as January 7, 1955, in *Colliers,* Dr. Walter R. Dornberger, who was in charge of the Nazi missile station at Peenemunde during World War II and is now missile consultant to Bell Aircraft, wrote, "the USSR has produced in great numbers efficient anti-aircraft missiles that will make very difficult any penetration of the Russian homeland and destruction of its strategic targets."

In censoring Gen. Mickelsen's remarks, the Pentagon is fostering the foolish disposition to laugh off as enemy propaganda recent Russian statements that the strategic bomber is obsolete.

Advice to H-Bomb Survivors: Sprinkle Fallout Off the Sidewalk With A Garden Hose

Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission made no reference to clean radioactive warfare in his talk on nuclear strategy and weapons to the Association of the U. S. Army here last week.

On the contrary Commissioner Libby said that "concentrated areas are essentially to be written off in nuclear warfare" and "that people living in major cities can be protected only to a limited degree." He said that in addition to its blast and thermal effects, if a thermonuclear weapon is fired close to the ground "the killing effect of the short-lived radioactivities is so enormous" that the fallout "from detonations in which the fireball touches the earth's surface must be considered as a third dimension, or third major factor, determining strategy and policy in wartime." He added that "a considerable fraction" of the area of a major nation could be covered "with the familiar cigar-like patterns of local fall-out at such intensities as to endanger health and survival."

Having painted so vivid a picture of what can be done to a great nation by thermonuclear attack, Dr. Libby went on to suggest that if people stayed long enough in shelters and took certain precautions on emerging, some could survive. Dr. Libby said "cellars are pretty fair protection" from fallout (without explaining how many cellars would survive the blast and fire effects) and said "They," i.e. the average person, "should know that hosing off a building and washing down the sidewalks with water will probably help a great deal in reducing the fallout." This picture of the average citizen emerging from his cellar to sprinkle the fallout off his building and sidewalk with a garden hose after an H-bomb attack would seem to qualify Dr. Libby as a leading humorist of the thermonuclear age.

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Zhukov's Fate Still Clouded at Press-Time, But Not as Clouded as CIA's Crystal Ball

The Marshal's Dismissal Was Allen Dulles's Second Big Error in One Month

In his speech to the Advertising Council in San Francisco on September 19, Allen Welsh Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, complained coyly that he was the head of a "silent service" and could not advertise his wares: "Often we know a bit more about what is going on in the world than we are credited with, and we realize a little advertisement might improve our public relations." Since that time, CIA has *had* some advertisement. It guessed wrong on Zhukov as it guessed wrong on Sputnik.

Mr. Dulles gave the advertising men two bits of "inside information"—one was that in the Soviet Union "the military seems to have become the decisive element" and the other was that the Soviets were "beginning to encounter difficulties in coping with the complex industrial and technological problems of today." Just 16 days later Moscow launched the first man-made satellite. Since then, Zhukov has been dismissed as Minister of Defense.

Mr. Dulles gave the impression that Zhukov was now the power behind the throne in Russia. Krushchev had eliminated Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov last June "with the approval of the military, in particular Zhukov," and now only two members of the Presidium "are in a position to exercise real influence, Krushchev . . . and the military, presently represented by Marshal Zhukov." He made headlines with his modestly phrased prediction, "I have no crystal ball answer, but certainly military dictatorship is one of the possible lines of evolution in the Soviet Union."

"Intelligence" As a Form of Flattery

This has long been the theory of those supposedly "in the know" in Washington, that the military were soon to take over in Russia and that we could "do business with soldiers." The President is a military man, and this theory was flattering to the military: "the soldier is a sound fellow, unlike those politicians and fanatics." Ike knew Zhukov and no doubt has told the story of his meetings with him a dozen times. The discovery by intelligence that the President's preconceptions were right is the kind of apple-polishing familiar in all bureaucracies.

Remarks of the Week

Mrs. Grace Lorch, subpoenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in Memphis after comforting a Negro child outside Little Rock Central High School: "The only subversive activities I know about are the ones Senator Eastland and his crowd are engaging in."

America's newly discovered richest "zillionaire," Jean Paul Getty, to an interviewer in London: "The fundamental strength of the U. S. is in its business men. . . . Without the business man, who have you got left in the United States?"

There is another factor behind this theory. Official Washington just cannot get it through its collective head that Russia, as a country, irrespective of its government, has certain basic strategic needs and ambitions which derive from its geography. The whole Middle Eastern "crisis" is only a continuation of familiar 19th Century history, but Washington prefers to attribute everything to Communist fanaticism.

If the trouble is due to fanaticism, all we need do is wait and overthrow the Communist regime. But if the trouble lies deeper and reflects Russia's natural aspirations, then it is necessary by diplomacy and negotiation to reconcile Russia's needs with Turkey's, etc. But negotiation is hard work and it is easier to treat the whole affair as melodrama.

From this derives the view that all would be well if "practical soldiers," i.e. men devoid of strong ideas, (i.e. again like Ike) took over. The notion that military men would be less concerned than "politicians" or "ideologists" with such crucial strategic matters as U. S. bomber bases in Turkey within a short flight of the key Soviet oil fields is fantasy and nonsense. But official Washington has slept easily on it for a long time.

This may help readers to understand why for several days after the curt announcement of Zhukov's dismissal, so many Washington correspondents continued to insist that this was only the prelude to a bigger post, or at least that he was merely being "kicked upstairs." This was the CIA line, as it was fed out to favored newspapermen.

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